

Message Text

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PASS TO USIS OFFICER FOR DELIVERY TO BENJAMIN POGRUND

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PINT, SF
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY
BENJAMIN POGRUND, "RAND DAILY MAIL"

THE FOLLOWING ARE AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S RESPONSES TO
QUESTIONS SUBMITTED BY BENJAMIN POGRUND OF THE "RAND DAILY
MAIL":

1. Q. HOW DO YOU REACT TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL
ELECTION?

A. MY REACTION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GENERAL ELECTIONS
ARE DIFFERENT FROM MOST. I DON'T VIEW THE ELECTIONS AS
SUCH A GREAT VICTORY. IN FACT WHEN COMPARED WITH THE
VOTING PERFORMANCES OF MOST PEOPLE OF SIMILAR
EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUNDS, THE RESULTS IN SOUTH
AFRICA ARE REMARKABLE INDEED. THIS WAS AN ELECTION THAT
THE NATIONALIST PARTY STAGED TO GET A GREATER MANDATE.
BUT WHEN ONE LOOKS AT THE ACTUAL VOTING FIGURES AND THE
NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ACTUALLY VOTED, THERE WAS ACTUALLY
LESS OF A POPULAR MANDATE THAN THE NATIONALIST PARTY
RECEIVED IN ITS PREVIOUS ELECTION IN 1974. IF MY
FIGURES ARE CORRECT, THEN THE NATIONALIST PARTY WON ITS
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MARGIN IN THE FACE OF A DECLINING INTEREST IN THE
POLITICAL PROCESS ON THE PART OF THE WHITE VOTERS OF
SOUTH AFRICA. IN FACT, THE MAJORITY OF THE WHITE
VOTERS OF SOUTH AFRICA DID NOT VOTE FOR THE NATIONALIST
PARTY. I SAY THIS BECAUSE ONE HAS TO CLASSIFY THOSE
VOTERS WHO STAYED AT HOME AS ESSENTIALLY CASTING A VOTE
OF NON-CONFIDENCE IN A HEIGHTENED CAMPAIGN OF DEMAGOGY

AND HOSTILITY AGAINST THE WHOLE WORLD. IT WAS AN ATTEMPT TO RALLY WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS INTO THE LAAGER; ALL OF WHICH WOULD HAVE, IF IT HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL, RESULTED IN AN OVERWHELMING TURN-OUT. ONE WOULD HAVE TO CLASSIFY A 64 PERCENT TURN-OUT AS A FAILURE ON THE PART OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY TO ATTRACT A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF VOTERS TO ITS PROGRAM. AND WHILE THEY DID INCREASE THE NUMBER OF SEATS, IT SEEMS TO BE THAT THE ELECTION RESULTS INDICATE THAT THERE IS A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF ROOM FOR A CREATIVE NEW LEADERSHIP EMERGING IN SOUTH AFRICA. THAT LEADERSHIP COULD WELL COME FROM WITHIN THE NATIONALIST PARTY BECAUSE THE PROGRESSIVE AND UNITED PARTIES IN A SENSE ABANDONED ANY REAL ALTERNATIVE TO THE NATIONALIST PARTY BY TRYING TO QUOTE OUT VORSTER UNQUOTE VORSTER BY RUNNING AN ESSENTIALLY ANTI-AMERICAN CAMPAIGN, AND REALLY NOT AT ALL ADDRESSING THEMSELVES TO THE ISSUES. WHITE PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE LOOKING FOR A RELEVANT REALISTIC APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF HOW BLACKS, WHITES, COLOREDS AND ASIANS MIGHT LIVE TOGETHER WITHIN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA. I THINK THE FACT THAT THE NATIONALIST PARTY RECEIVED ONLY 689,108 VOTES OUT OF A POTENTIAL 1,644,000 REGISTERED VOTERS IS AN INDICATION THAT THERE IS A SIGNIFICANT MAJORITY OF THE WHITE POPULATION WHO ARE REALLY LOOKING FOR SOMEONE TO RELEVANTLY ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. I WOULD VIEW THE ELECTION AS A FAILURE FOR THE NATIONALIST

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PARTY. AND SO, IN A STRANGE WAY, I LOOK WITH A SENSE OF HOPE ON THIS ELECTION. MY HOPE IS THAT SOMEWHERE OUT OF THIS CONFUSION, A GENUINE LEADERSHIP WILL EMERGE TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

2. Q. THE RESULT SHOWED THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF WHITES SUPPORT THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT IN WHAT IT IS DOING. IS THIS LIKELY IN ANY WAY TO AFFECT AMERICAN POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA?

A. I DON'T THINK THE RESULT OF THIS ELECTION IS LIKELY TO AFFECT AMERICAN POLICY ON SOUTH AFRICA AT ALL. AMERICAN POLICY WITH REGARD TO SOUTH AFRICA IS BASED ON AMERICA'S OWN SENSE OF MORALITY AND DECENCY, AND, FRANKLY, ON OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS. U.S. INTERESTS ARE CLEARLY BOTH MORALLY AND ECONOMICALLY IN CONFLICT WITH PRESENT PRACTICES AND POLICIES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA. THERE ARE SOME THINGS WE DO SHARE IN COMMON, AND IT'S STILL MY HOPE THAT THERE CAN BE STRONG ENOUGH FORCES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, AND EVEN WITHIN THIS PRESENT GOVERNMENT, TO BEGIN TO BUILD ON THOSE THINGS WHICH WE DO HAVE IN COMMON, AND HOPEFULLY MOVE CLOSER TOGETHER. BUT I THINK THIS IS SOUTH AFRICA'S

CHOICE.

3. Q. SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT AMERICA'S TOUGHER STANCE ON APARTHEID, AND PARTICULARLY THE STATEMENTS BY YOU AND VICE PRESIDENT WALTER MONDALE, HELPED THE NATIONALISTS TO WIN THEIR INCREASED MAJORITY IN THE GENERAL ELECTION. WOULD YOU COMMENT?

A. I DON'T THINK AMERICA'S POLICY HAD VERY MUCH TO DO WITH THE SHAPING OF EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AT ALL. THE EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA WERE ESSENTIALLY SHAPED BY SOWETO WHICH OCCURRED SIX MONTHS BEFORE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS ELECTED. THE STATEMENTS BY VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND ANY POLICY CHANGES WERE INSIGNIFICANT COMPARED TO THE EVENTS WHICH WERE CREATED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AFTER ALL, IT WAS STEVE BIKO'S DEATH AND THE MASSIVE BANNINGS THAT PRODUCED THE RECENT CRISIS, AND NOTHING THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT OR I SAID COULD HAVE HAD ANY IMPACT ON THE CONDUCT OF A SOUTH AFRICAN JAILER, NOR COULD WE HAVE INFLUENCED THE RESPONSE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH ESSENTIALLY SUPPORTED THE JAILER'S RIGHTS TO DESTROY THE LIFE OF STEVEN BIKO. I'M AFRAID THAT

WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN MUCH TOO MUCH CREDIT BY THE REST OF THE WORLD FOR INFLUENCING CHANGES IN AFRICA. I THINK THOSE CHANGES COME ESSENTIALLY FROM THE RISING TIDE OF ASPIRATIONS THAT RESULTED FROM THE FALL OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM AND THAT HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED BY THE NEW DEMANDS FOR ECONOMIC POWER COMING FROM NIGERIA AND THE REST OF BLACK AFRICA. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSES TO THESE PRESSURES OCCUR ALMOST TOTALLY INDEPENDENT OF ANYTHING THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE.

4. Q. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT INCREASED AMERICAN PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA'S WHITES COULD PROVE TO BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE IN MAKING PEOPLE MORE RESISTANT TO CHANGES?

A. I FRANKLY DON'T BELIEVE THAT INCREASED PRESSURE WILL PROVE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FACT, I BELIEVE EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE. I THINK GIVEN THE ABSENCE OF MORAL LEADERSHIP FROM WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA, THAT SOMEHOW OUTSIDE PRESSURES HAVE TO BE THE INSPIRATION FOR CHANGE. I DON'T HAVE ANY ILLUSIONS THAT WE CAN FORCE CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM OUTSIDE, BUT I THINK MAKING CLEAR THAT WE WILL NOT COOPERATE WITH APARTHEID IN ANY OF ITS FORMS CAN ASSIST IN A PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF THE POLITICS OF SOUTH AFRICA TOWARD A SOCIETY IN WHICH ALL PEOPLE SHARE IN THE RIGHTS , PRIVILEGES AND OPPORTUNITIES.

5. Q. IF YOU BELIEVE THAT THERE SHOULD BE GREATER AMERICAN (AND WESTERN) PRESSURE, WHAT FORMS DO YOU ANTICIPATE IT WILL TAKE?

A. BELIEVE IT OR NOT, WE JUST DON'T SIT DOWN AND THINK UP PRESSURES TO PUT ON SOUTH AFRICA. I THINK IT'S EVENTS WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA THAT DEMAND A RESPONSE FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD. IT WASN'T UNTIL THE EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA THAT WE BEGAN TO THINK OF WAYS ESSENTIALLY TO LESSEN OUR RELATIONSHIPS. THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF PRESSURE, I THINK, IS MORE FROM THE THOREAU PRINCIPLE ON NON-COOPERATION WITH THINGS WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE EVIL, AND NON-COOPERATION WITH EVIL IS AS IMPORTANT AS COOPERATION WITH GOOD. WHEN SOUTH AFRICA DOES THINGS WHICH WE HAVE TO BE ASHAMED TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH, THEN WE HAVE TO THINK OF WAYS TO LESSEN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTH AFRICA. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN SOUTH AFRICA DOES THINGS THAT WE WOULD BE PROUD TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH, THEN WE HAVE TO THINK OF COUNTER-MEASURES TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IN THESE INSTANCES WE ARE PROUD TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH SOUTH AFRICA. I DON'T THINK THERE HAS EVEN BEEN A BLANKET CONDEMNATION OF EVERYTHING

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ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY OR GOVERNMENT, AND CERTAINLY NOT A CONDEMNATION OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. THERE IS A CONDEMNATION OF POLICIES, AND INsofar AS THOSE POLICIES ARE AGAINST THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES, THEN WE HAVE TO DISASSOCIATE OURSELVES INCREASINGLY FROM THOSE POLICIES.

6. Q. SOME SAY THAT ANY SANCTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA WILL HURT BLACKS MORE THAN THEY WILL HURT WHITES. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW OF THIS?

A. IT'S NOT OUR DESIRE TO HURT ANYONE IN SOUTH AFRICA; IN FACT, IT'S OUR DESIRE TO HELP. I THINK OUR PROBLEM IS THAT PEOPLE ARE NOW BEING HURT SO MASSIVELY BY THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA THAT WE HAVE A CHOICE OF PARTICIPATING IN THE REPRESSION OF EIGHTY-SEVEN PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, OR NON-PARTICIPATION. I THINK THAT ANY SANCTIONS OR PRESSURES THAT WOULD COME FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, AND I'D HOPE FROM THE UNITED NATIONS, WOULD BE DESIGNED NOT TO HURT ANYONE, BUT SIMPLY TO REFUSE TO COOPERATE WITH A CONTINUED REPRESSION AND THE INJUSTICES WHICH ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT. I HAVE ALWAYS ADVOCATED A POSITIVE ROLE FOR THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY. IF THAT ROLE WERE FULFILLED BY THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, AND THE ECONOMY OF SOUTH AFRICA BEGAN TO INTERGRATE, THEN THE PROMISE THAT WOULD EXIST WITHIN SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY COULD POETNTIALLY FORESTALL THE KIND OF SANCTIONS THAT SOUTH AFRICANS FEAR. THE GREATER THE PARTICIPATION OF THE BLACK, COLOREDS AND ASIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE ECONOMY, THE LESS LIKELIHOOD THERE IS OF SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS.

7. Q. HOW DO YOU SEE THE FUTURE ROLE OF WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA?

A. I SEE THE FUTURE ROLE OF WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA AS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO THE OVER-ALL DEVELOPMENT OF

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THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. I THINK THE TECHNOLOGICAL MACHINE THAT HAS BEEN DEVELOPED IN SOUTH AFRICA IS VERY IMPORTANT TO FEEDING HUNGRY PEOPLE AND PROVIDING THE GOODS AND SERVICES THAT WILL BE NEEDED TO DEVELOP THE WHOLE SOUTHERN AFRICAN CONTINENT. BUT TODAY, I SEE THAT

PURPOSE FRUSTRATED BY A FEAR OF THE CONTINENT. IN
ECONOMIC TERMS, SOUTH AFRICA IS DEALING ESSENTIALLY
WITH A FOUR MILLION PERSON WHITE ECONOMY, WITH A FEW COLOREDS
AND ASIANS, AND EVEN FEWER BLACKS. IT'S HARDLY MORE THAN
AN ECONOMY OF TEN MILLION.

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ESSENTIALLY, I SEE THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRIAL
MACHINE SERVING APPROXIMATELY FIFTY MILLION PEOPLE THROUGH-
OUT SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND WITH THAT KIND OF EXPANSION OF
ECONOMIC POTENTIAL YOU HAVE OPPORTUNITIES THAT INCLUDE
BLACKS, COLOREDS AND ASIANS IN THE MAINSTREAM OF THE
ECONOMY. REALISTICALLY SPEAKING, IF THE CHANGES IN
SOUTH AFRICAN CAN OCCUR WITHOUT VIOLENCE, THEN WHITES
WILL ALWAYS PALLY AN IMPORTANT, IF NOT PREDOMINATE, ROLE
AS LONG AS THEY ARE MOST AT HOME WITH THE TECHNOLOGICAL
RESOURCES. IF ONE LOOKS AT THE AFRICAN CONTINENT THROUGH
REALISTIC EYES, RATHER THAN THROUGH THE EYES OF FEAR, THEN
ONE WILL SEE THAT THERE IS NO PLACE ON THE AFRICAN
CONTINENT WHERE THERE HAS BEEN A MASSIVE MASSACRE OF
WHITES BY BLACKS. EVEN IN ANGOLA WHERE THERE WAS BLACK
ON BLACK KILLING ALL OVER THE STREETS, THREE HUNDRED
THOUSAND WHITES WERE SAFELY AIR-LIFTED OUT. THERE WAS ALMOST
NEVER AN ATTEMPT TO
TURN THE RAGE OF VIOLENCE ON WHITES. ONE OF THE
AMAZING THINGS ABOUT THE AFRICAN SCENE IS THAT SO
MUCH CHANGE HAS BEEN ABLE TO OCCUR, AND SO LITTLE BLAME
HAS BEEN PLACED ON THE WHITES. I'VE ALWAYS BEEN AMAZED
BY THE WILLINGNESS AND THE ABILITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN

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BLACKS, AND BLACKS IN GENERAL, MOZAMBIQUE IN PARTICULAR, TO FORGIVE AND FORGET THE INJUSTICES OF THE PAST ONE THOSE INJUSTICES DISAPPEAR. AND SO I HAVE NO FEAR FOR THE FUTURE OF WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA OR IN AFRICA. IN FACT, I WOULD THINK THAT THE NUMBER OF WHITES WOULD INCREASE ONCE THE RACIAL TENSION IN RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND IN SOUTH AFRICA BEGINS TO BE RECONCILED OR RESOLVED.

8. Q. HOW DO YOU VIEW THE RHODESIAN SITUATION? SPECIFICALLY, HOW DO YOU VIEW PRIME MINISTER IAN SMITH'S CURRENT ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT?

A. I THINK IAN SMITH'S CURRENT ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT ARE DANGEROUS IN THAT THEY CANNOT PREVENT A CIVIL WAR. IN FACT, AND INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IS MORE LIKELY TO PRODUCE INCREASES IN VIOLENCE AND HOSTILITY FROM THE LIBERATION FORCES AND ENCOURAGE THE PARTICIPATION OF FORCES AND ENCOURAGE THE PARTICIPATION OF FORCES EXTERNAL TO THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. ONE OF THE THINGS THAT HAS AMAZED ME IS THE RESTRAINT ON THE PART OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN SALISBURY AND THE GOOD RELATIONSHIPS THAT CAN STILL EXIST BETWEEN THE BLACKS AND WHITES IN RHODESIA. AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION ALONG THE LINES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN WOULD BRING WITH IT THE POSSIBILITY OF A PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT IN THE ENTIRE REGION. I THINK IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S INTEREST AS IN ZAMBIA'S INTEREST AND MOZAMBIQUE'S INTEREST THAN CONTINUED FIGHTING AND CIVIL WAR. MY INTEREST IN RHODESIA IS TO BRING A PEACEFUL TRANSFER TO MAJORITY RULE AND NOT A TRANSFER WHICH CONTINUES THE KIND OF BLOODSHED AND FRUSTRATION WHICH WE SEE NOW IN

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ANGOLA.

9. Q. DO YOU BELIEVE THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION CAN STILL BE RESOLVED THROUGH COOPERATION BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WEST?

A. I STILL BELIEVE THAT THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION CAN BE RESOLVED THROUGH COOPERATION BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WEST. IN FACT, IT'S THE ONLY WAY IT CAN BE RESOLVED. RIGHT NOW PEOPLE SEEM TO BE STUCK IN

DIFFICULT BARGAINING POSITIONS, BUT THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN SOME SENSE DEPENDS ON THE KIND OF TRANSITION THAT IS MADE IN NAMIBIA. HOPEFULLY PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS IN NAMIBIA AND IN RHODESIA WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR MORE POSITIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE WEST AND SOUTH AFRICA ON OTHER ISSUES AS WELL.

10. Q. DO YOU THINK SOUTH AFRICA IS NOW LESS READY THAN BEFORE TO COOPERATE WITH THE WEST IN ACHIEVING SETTLEMENT OF THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN PROBLEMS? IF OS, WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE SHOULD BE DONE?

A. IT'S VERY HARD TO KNOW WHAT SOUTH AFRICA IS READY TO DO FROM HERE. IT'S MY BELIEF THAT THERE IS NO MONOLITHIC VIEW WITHIN THE NATIONALIST PARTY, AND I CONTINUE TO LOOK FOR SOMEONE TO MAKE THE KIND OF BOLD MOVES IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICA SITUATION THAT SADAT AND BEGIN HAVE MADE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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ONE OF THE THINGS THAT I HAVE COME TO BELIEVE ABOUT THE TOUGH-MINDED, BUT RELIGIOUSLY-ORIENTED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, IS THAT THERE IS ALWAYS THAT CAPABILITY OF RISING ABOVE THE SITUATION AND GETTING A NEW VISION--A NEW PERSPECTIVE. I GUESS IT'S THAT POTENTIAL THAT GIVES ME HOPE FOR THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

11. Q. HOW DO YOU VIEW THE CONTINUING, AND INDEED GROWING, NUMBER OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA?

A. I THINK THE ROLE OF CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA IS

IMPORTANT. I THINK THAT CUBANS PLAY, AND CONTINUE TO PLAY, A RATHER POSITIVE ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A STABLE AND ORDERLY SOCIETY. I'VE HEARD FROM NUMBERS OF SOURCES THAT IT WAS CUBAN TROOPS THAT HELPED KEEP AGOSTINHO NETO IN POWER WHEN SOVIET AND BLACK RACIST FORCES SOUTH TO OVERTHROW HIM, ESSENTIALLY FOR BEING A NON-RACIST INTELLECTUAL. I DON'T FEAR CUBA'S PRESENCE. I THINK IT CAN BE A POSITIVE PRESENCE EVEN FOR SOUTH AFRICA, IN THAT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEIR HUMANISM AND THEIR LACK OF RACISM CAN BE STRONGER INFLUENCES ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT THAN THEIR MARXISM. I DON'T FEAR MARXISM IN ANGOLA BECAUSE MARXISM, COMMUNISM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OR THE SOVIETS REALLY HAVE NOT CONTRIBUTED VERY MUCH TO DEVELOPMENT ANYWHERE IN AFRICA. GIVEN THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE, A COUNTRY WITH RICH RESOURCES, LIKE SOUTH AFRICA, AND ACCESS TO WESTERN CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY WILL CHOOSE THE APPROPRIATE PATH TO DEVELOPMENT. I THINK ONCE THAT PATH OF DEVELOPMENT BEGINS, YOU WILL SEE A LIBERALIZATION AND HUMANIZATION OF WHATEVER GOVERNMENT IS IN POWER. THE FUTURE FOR ANGOLA IS A FUTURE WHICH SOMEHOW UNITES THE NATION. ATTEMPTS TO EMPHASIZE MILITARY STABILIZATION OF ANGOLA WORKS AGAINST WESTERN INTEREST BECAUSE IT ONLY PROLONGS THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT BY ENCOURAGING CHAOS. IT'S CHAOS IN WHICH COMMUNISM IS MOST LIKELY TO FLOURISH. ONCE THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT BEGINS, THEN THE WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO REACH OUT TO THE WEST, INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICA, WILL PROBABLY BECOME MORE PREVALENT. ONE OF THE GOOD THINGS ABOUT ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE IS THAT THEY HAVE PUT THEIR DEVELOPMENT NEEDS ABOVE THEIR IDEOLOGICAL NEEDS; THEY HAVE BEEN MUCH MORE PRAGMATIC THAN IDEOLOGICAL.

12. Q. IT IS NOW NEARLY A YEAR SINCE YOU WERE APPOINTED AMERICA'S AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS. TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE YOUR HOPES AND PLANS BEEN REALIZED? AND WHAT ARE YOUR HOPES AND PLANS FOR NEXT YEAR?

A. IN AMY WAYS I EXPECTED MY FIRST YEAR AT THE UNITED NATIONS TO BE RATHER QUIET AND UNEVENTFUL, BUT I GUESS I WAS DREAMING. WE STARTED MAY THINGS THIS YEAR, AND MY HOPES FOR THE COMING YEAR ARE TO SEE SOME OF THESE THINGS COME TO A RATHER PEACEFUL CONCLUSION. I LOOK FORWARD TO PEACE IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS OF PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY WHICH GUARANTEES EQUAL RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ITS CITIZENS.

JUNE GOODWIN, WRITING FOR THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
MONITOR, SPEAKS OF THE NUMEROUS RAINBOWS ONE VIEWS AS
ONE DRIVES ACROSS THE SOUTH AFRICAN VELD. I SHARE IN
THE ROMANTIC VIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA AS IT MIGHT BECOME.
I LOOK BEYOND THE STORM AND THUNDER OF THE PAST YEAR'S
REALITY OF CHAOS AND CONFLICT, AND I PRAY AS I WORK FOR
A LAND OF RAINBOWS WHERE THE DIVERSITY OF COLOR AND
CULTURE BLEND IN A POLITICAL HARMONY. AMERICANS,
PARTICULARLY BLACK AMERICANS, HAVE SEEN
TOO MANY OF THEIR OWN DREAMS COME TRUE TO EVER
STOP DREAMING. AND AFTER ALL, DREAMS, EVEN DREAMS
DEFERRED, ARE PREFERABLE TO NIGHTMARES OF FEAR. YOUNG

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